1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
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closely paralleling that of their Hindu neighbors. On the other hand, their social organization is relatively lacking in the cleavages of caste which are so prevalent all about them. Apart from the village, which is usually composed of a number of patrilineal kin-groups, territorial organization is weakly developed, and the tribe as a whole has never been politically unified so far as historical records indicate.

Even as a unique people the Santal merit special attention. Numbering today over three million, the region they occupy contains the richest deposits of iron, coal and other crucial industrial minerals in all of India. The chief source of their livelihood, at least since the nineteenth century, has been settled agriculture. Prior to the nineteenth century, hunting was also an important livelihood activity, but the great increase in the region's population and subsequent reduction of forest areas has made game extremely scarce; it is now difficult for the inhabitants even to obtain materials for fuel and building purposes. Though the chief source of food and cash is the annual rice crop, a few vegetables are also grown and some fruit trees maintained. Some villages are near enough to a river for fish to be readily obtained, while some villages stock their local ponds. Even prior to the introduction of modern industry in the region, the Santal had ceased to be economically independent. Although they once did some pottery making, weaving, and even iron smelting, they have come to rely almost exclusively on various local Hindu castes for these material products. Women from several low Hindu castes are used frequently as midwives. While almost no Santal are ritually served by Brahmin priests, itinerant Hindu holy men (*sadhu*) visit many Santal villages, consulting horoscopes and offering prayers for a fee or donation.

Most Santal are still agriculturists, but some have turned to

1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
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177 Although the Santal used to do some weaving and pottery-
439 making, they have traditionally obtained almost everything ex-
• [286] cept foodstuffs and a few forest products from neighboring
[323] tribal or Hindu peoples. Even the drums and the flutes which
[534] are so integrated in the "pleasure" complex are invariably purchased from Hindu specialists. Furthermore, elite borrowings have often become "naturalized," i.e., accepted as Santal and then widely adopted so as to close the gap. Nevertheless, emulation of Hindus did not always go unnoticed and it will be recalled that there is evidence of resistance to such Hinduization.

177 The many Hindu cognates in this text give some indication
197 of the extent of linguistic borrowing. Only a few Santal kin
[601] terms are of non-Indo-European origin, and the system of
[614] dyadic relations among kin is very much like that of the Hindus; one of the largest clans, Hansdak', has a name clearly of Indo-European origin (*hans* = duck in Santali and Hindi), but one also notes the syncretism with the non-Indo-European
[538] (*dak'* = water in Santali). Even parts of the Rāmāyaṇa are sung in Santali and on occasion the Santal are allowed to enter the tale. Considering the prevalence of "parochialization" and "universalization" in India,[20] it is possible that some of what is common to the two cultures is of Santal origin. But the heavy incorporation of vocabulary clearly of Indo-European origin suggests that the flow was largely from the Hindus to the Santal.

177 Prior to industrial employment in this century a small cul-
178 tural gap separated the elite and common Santal. Though there
184 was some differential emulation of Hinduism it was largely of isolated traits which often became naturalized, and the basic "pleasure" orientation of the Santal was hardly altered.

[20] Marriott 1955:211.

[P. 44 is blank]

2; Skrefarud M-S (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

585 Sir. The headman then says: There are different ways of wandering about; they wander in a forest, they seek for wood: this will do for a plough-beam, that will do for a yoke, this will do for a wheel, that will do for a stick, this will do for a plough, that will do for a plough-handle. We go about to villages; we look for vessels; this will do for a wide-mouthed earthenware vessel, that will do for a water-pot, this will do for a narrow-mouthed earthenware vessel, that will do for a small vessel. Now as for you, what kind of a vessel do you want?

The bridegroom's party answer him: As for us, Sir, we only want a vessel with a fissured bottom. The headman then says: Sir, there are no such vessels. You are buying and trading, what kind of vessel are you wanting? Do you want a diamond or a pearl? The bridegroom's party answer: We are wanting a diamond; but to-day the market is closed; we wonder at what market we shall get it. The village headman asks them: Do you wish the market after three days or the market after five days? The bridegroom's party answer: As for us, Sir, we know nothing of markets; we have taken hold of you, you will buy for us at any market. The headman says to them: Waiting get, watching get. They answer him: Well, we are here fasting, thirsting. The headman then says: The market is also closed, nothing is to be had; as is seen, you came too late; how did you come too late? The bridegroom's party answer: What shall we do, Sir headman? As we were coming along an uncastrated bullock was calving through the mouth[40], him we were looking at; there we became belated; we moved away from there; then we again caught sight of something, wild bees honey in the crook of a crab grass, where they have made honey[41]; we were looking at it there. When we moved away from there, then as we were coming along, we again caught sight of one thing, a black-plum tree[42] with ripe fruits; we threw a dove-tail axe[43] at it; twelve measures of black plums fell down; then we went to pick up the axe; this axe had fallen down on the head of a certain deer, so that we found it killed thereby. Then with what shall we bind it? They went to pull out some sun-grass[44]. When they were pulling out the sun-grass, they fell with their posteriors down on and killed twelve small baskets full of bush-quails. This is what we were looking at and thereby were belated.

Thereupon as we were walking along, there was a Blue-jay dancing the Jaṭur dance[45] in the road; we were looking at it; in this way we were belated. Thereupon there was a king-crow that was watching seven fires; we were looking at him; in this way we were belated.

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[40] Said to be fig., about clothes being taken out of a vessel in which they were boiled. [41] Some Santals explain this as referring to a pot of beer, others say it refers to impregnation. [42] Eugenia Jambolana, Lam. [43] The smallest kind of axe, only used for cutting branches and small bushes. [44] Imperata arundinacea, Cyr. [45] Danced by men alone. It is said here to be a reference to the weaving of cloth, which is men's work among the Santals.

[286]

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

Baskets of different shapes and sizes, made of bamboos arrest one's attention in a Santal household. One of them, called "uduli," is used by women while marketing and carrying things to the field. (See illustration). They have their own winnowing fan called "hata" and use a basket named "gauni" for measuring paddy. The broom-sticks are neatly made of "kancho" (*Oriya*) reeds (Santali, *K'harang*). (See illustration).

Uduli

Jana

Hata

Industries

As far as cottage-industries are concerned, we did not find spinning and weaving a part of the serious programme of the Santals, as they depend on the neighbouring Hindu weavers to supply their clothes. However, in most houses, they possess these wheels and the indigenous ginning machine, which implies,

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

ends with turmeric. Formerly, all these clothes were made on their own loom, but now-a-days the Santals generally buy what they need from the market of the adjoining town.

Spinning and weaving:-The Santals wear cloth prepared on their own loom with their own thread besides purchasing from the market. They raise cotton for their own use. After the cotton is brought in, the first process is ginning. The ginning machine is very simple. It is an upright (drawing) frame work in which two wooden rollers are arranged to run in opposite directions by a sort of gear when the crank attached to one roller is turned. Cotton with seeds are put within the two rollers, and when the rollers are made to revolve, the cotton is separated from the seeds. Cotton is then spread and small bits of cotton are put over a bowstring which is then snapped. This does away with all the lumps and makes the cotton fluffy. It is then made into small rolls preparatory to spinning. Spinning is done by the spinning wheel. Spinning wheels are essentially spindles fitted horizontally into bearings and rotated by means of a cord passing round the threads attached to the two wheels and spindle. The wheels are revolved by hand alone. The spindle consists of a long iron needle, the working end is pointed, the other end is inserted into a fixed horizontal wood. Two wheels are fixed at a distance of about 6 inches to 8 inches apart in wood, a round stone is inserted in it between the two wheels. The two ends of the wood, with which wheels are attached, are placed on two uprights which again are fixed on a base of a "T" shaped wooden frame. The handle is fixed to the wood in which the wheels are fixed.

4; Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
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After the thread has been prepared it is transferred to the loom, a simple apparatus of a few bamboo sticks and wood. The warp passes horizontally round a beam held upon two wooden poles driven in the ground in such a way that the beam can revolve over them freely. Then the warp passes through (Rach) a comb like instrument. It is made of two bamboo sticks placed horizontally at a distance of 4" apart; over them a series of fine wooden sticks are tied. The opening between the two sticks is so small that only a fine thread can pass through it. This comb-like instrument is put in a wooden frame. The comb and handles made of thread are suspended from a bamboo put horizontally over two bamboo poles driven in the ground. To the handles two paddles of rope are tied which hang over a hole in the ground. The operator sitting before the hole puts the two feet on the paddles. When the paddles are in action one handle is raised and the other is lowered giving a wider shed with less strain upon the warp. The shuttle is a piece of flat wood, on one end a hole is made in order to coil the thread on the weft. The thread is passed through the hole around the other end of the wood.

Ornaments:-The Santals use very few ornaments, the male having no ornament to wear except small ear-rings which are generally made of silver. 'Hansli' a kind of necklace is a favourite ornament for the adult Santal women though they invariably wear necklaces of beads. Little boys and girls also wear them. These necklaces of beads are bought from the market. Heavy brass bracelets are worn by the women. Ear-rings made of silver, one inch in diameter are worn by the

St Culshaw M-S (1932-1943) 1949 AW42 Santal AW42

They owe their present position of affluence to Santal habits of insobriety. Secondly, much of the land has been acquired by trading castes from Bihar who followed the Santals when the country was being opened up. They brought with them such things as salt and cooking oil, which they exchanged for grain. Clothing was added at a later date, for until within living memory Santals largely wove their own clothes from cotton grown on the lands surrounding their homesteads. Like the Sundis, these traders provided credit facilities for their customers and so gained power over them. The monsoon fails on the average once in seven years in Western Bengal, and the traders import grain in times of scarcity. Formerly this was lent out at a recognized rate of interest amounting to 100 per cent. per annum. The only security which a Santal had to offer was a mortgage on his land, and, if the trader wished it, the almost inevitable result was an action in the courts, followed by an auction at which the creditor purchased the land. The third important class among the landlords are the Brahmins, descendants of the men who were brought into the country to act as priests and court officials to the local *rajas* or rulers. At the time when British rule was being established many of these *rajas* exercised control over tracts of country that were largely covered by forest and sparsely inhabited. They encouraged Santals and some other peoples to settle as cultivators, and they also rewarded the services of their Brahmin officials by grants of land. Brahmins are forbidden by caste rules to engage in cultivation, so they in their turn encouraged Santals to become their tenants.

The Santals have a proverb: "A *Deko* friend is like a thorn fence." In other words, if you stumble into it you are liable to suffer from scratches. They sometimes make fun of themselves and exaggerate the fear that they feel. Thus: "The elders used to run away and hide in the jungle whenever they saw an umbrella approaching the village." But in spite of the fun, the fear persists. A difficulty arose a few years ago in a village Santal church when the superintending missionary placed there as pastor a man who was a *Deko*. This resulted in a vigorous protest, and the leader of the villagers' delegation summed up their feelings in the following parable: "When a kite is wheeling overhead the chickens all take shelter under their mother's wings. After they have grown up they know that the kite can do them no harm, but nevertheless whenever a kite is overhead they quake inwardly and cannot get on with their pecking." In the company of non-Santals, a Santal is inclined to become tongue-